LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921 Editor: R. Palme Dutt

BRITAIN AT THE CROSSROADS

The Editor

TUC PROSPECTS

Peter Kerrigan,
Ernie Rice, Roger Lyons

A PEACE POLICY FOR ISRAEL

Ivor Montagu

VIETNAM AND MEDICAL AID

Dr. Joan McMichael

SEPTEMBER 1969

3s. 6d.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOUR MONTHLY

Editor: R. Palme Dutt Associate Editor: R. Page Arnot

Managing Editor: Nicola Seyd

VOL. 51 No. 9 SEPTEMBER . 1969

CONTENTS

Page

Notes of the Month: Britain at the Crossroads. *Signals of Change—From MacDonald to Wilson—Government and the Trade Unions—World in Movement—Western Ferment—Thirty Years On—Which Way Britain?—Brecht's Warning—'Unrepentant Aggressors'—London-Bonn Axis?—Hotbeds of War—Portsmouth's Twofold Opportunity* .. .. .. **R.P.D.** 385

Lenin's Notebook on the State 396

TUC Prospects. Trade union movement faces present and future problems .. **Peter Kerrigan, Ernie Rice, Roger Lyons** 397

Forty Years Ago. The cotton lock-out 404

Teachers and the Cuts. Dangers of young teacher unemployment **Judy Cotter** 406

'The Hornsey Affair'. Illustrations from the book 408,409

A Peace Policy for Israel. Answer to the Zionist myth **Ivor Montagu** 410

Pan-African Festival. First continent-wide cultural event held in Algeria .. .. **Alex La Guma** 414

Scorpio Cartoon 416

Student Unity and the Labour Movement. Need for undivided socialist organisation .. .. **Fergus Nicholson** 417

Vietnam and Medical Aid. Immediate and longer-term help to victims in war-torn Vietnam .. **Dr. Joan K. McMichael** 419

Art Education. The social nature of art .. **Andrew Turner** 423

Letter to 'The Economist' .. .. **Andrew Rothstein** 425

Correspondence: 'Arturo Ui', *C. Wood*; Law on unions in Australia, *J. McPhillips* 426

Book Reviews: 'Walter Monckton', Lord Birkenhead: *D. N. Pritt*; 'The Soviet Economy', Alec Nove: *M.D.*; 'A Short Course of Political Economy', L. Leontyev: *R. L.*; 'Renascent Africa', Nnamdi Azikiwe: *Idris Cox*; 'The Sociology of British Communism', Kenneth Newton: *A. S. Pecimen* 428

'Haves' and 'Have-nots' .. .. .. **Nicola Seyd** 432

Publications Received .. .. Inside back cover

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Notes of the Month

BRITAIN AT THE CROSSROADS

> **'A political combination of the lower classes, as such and for their own objects, is an evil of the first magnitude.'**
> WALTER BAGEHOT, Preface to the second edition of *The English Constitution*, 1872, p. xxiii.

August 18, 1969

The three key conferences of the labour movement in Britain are now in front. In September the Trades Union Congress. In October the Labour Party Conference. In November the Communist Party Congress. All three will be concentrated on the same central situation and problem. With the manifest deepening instability of British capitalism and its world system (whether or not the pound undergoes a fourth devaluation in the near future has become more a question for speculators than an occasion for surprise) the confrontation of classes within Britain is beginning to assume a sharpness which is breaking through old forms of political deception. A new situation has arisen without previous parallel.

Signals of Change

Today the extending instability of the capitalist world, manifesting itself in country after country and in every continent, is now revealed also within the direct region of British rule, in Northern Ireland, where popular revolt has arisen against half a century of denial of democratic rights. At the same time the revolt of the overwhelming majority of the organised labour movement against the Labour Government's offensive to impose anti-union penal legislation, and the enforced partial tactical retreat of the Labour Government in the face of this revolt, has begun to reveal a new relation of forces, and is opening new horizons. The battle is by no means over; it is only beginning. If the special TUC in June, the first for half a century, voiced the revolt against the Government's offensive, the immediate counter-move of reaction has been to endeavour to turn the TUC into an alternative machinery for the strangling of strikes. But the militant upsurge has not been broken. It has been shown in the union conferences, notably in the proceedings and decisions of the Transport Workers' conference. It has been shown in the determination of a goodly body of Labour MPs to defy discipline and vote against reactionary policies. It has been shown in the unbroken solidarity and tenacity of the strikes now

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in progress in face of every threat and pressure. The dangers are still acute: dangers of disillusionment with the Labour Government's policies leading to a Tory revival, and the parallel danger of appeals to the left to abdicate in the name of unity against such a Tory revival. But it is precisely in this situation that the left fight is most needed to lead the way forward and prevent the demoralisation and disruption of the movement. The delegates to the Portsmouth TUC will have the highest opportunity and responsibility to consolidate and strengthen the advance of all the progressive forces of the labour movement and the left, and to carry forward the fight for the positive alternative policies, equally at home and in the international field, which are indispensable for the interests of the working class and the masses of the people, and for the whole future of Britain in the world.

From MacDonald to Wilson

Every Labour Government up to the present has broken on the rock of class contradictions. Each in turn has acted primarily as an instrument to impose the will of the rulers of finance-capital on the workers, and only secondarily as a channel to transmit the demands of the working people into limited reform legislation. But the limited reforms have been negated by the basic policies pursued. The burdens have outweighed the gains. The consequent class contradiction has led in every case so far to the collapse of the Labour Government and the return of Toryism to office. The first Labour Government fell after working-class pressure had compelled the withdrawal of an anti-communist prosecution, and the parliamentary majority of the older capitalist parties thereupon turned it out. The second Labour Government fell when its leaders joined up with the Tories to put through a programme of cuts against the workers which had been opposed by the trade union movement and a substantial minority of Ministers. The post-1945 Labour Government, after squandering the first absolute Labour majority to pursue policies of the cold war, subjection to the United States, Nato, German rearmament, austerity and the wage-freeze, collapsed as soon as the TUC had carried a resolution condemning its wage-freeze policy, and gave place to thirteen years of Tory rule. Today this basic class contradiction confronting every Labour Government has reached to a height never before equalled.

Government and the Trade Unions

On the one hand, the Wilson Government has carried even further the policies of alignment with international reaction, subservience

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the United States, rearmament of German militarism, and the now open selling out of Britain to the bailiffs of the International Monetary Fund. It has carried even further the consequent home offensive to impose the costs on the people through rising prices and taxation, elaborate machinery to restrict wage demands, while profits soar, and blocking of urgent social service needs. But it has added a new feature which even the MacDonald and Attlee Governments never attempted, and which Mr. Wilson now boasts even the preceding Tory Government never dared attempt. It has extended its offensive directly to the trade unions (in the name of reform of trade union law) to challenge established trade union legal rights the struggle for which against previous offensives of the ruling class and its judiciary led to the foundation of the Labour Party. Even though the initial penal clauses assault has been rebuffed, the strategy is being pressed forward through a variety of forms. The disastrous consequences of this whole record have been spelt out in the electoral field through the grim record equally of local elections and of by-elections. The Tories gleefully anticipate a return to power, not on the basis of any signs of their own popularity, but on their calculation of wide disillusionment with the Labour Government's record disheartening and disorganising Labour's old supporters and failing to win the new young electors. This is the undoubtedly grave and critical situation in the present year of approach to the general election. In the conditions of the basically two-party system there is not yet any wide recognition of the Communist alternative as a realisable alternative, until such time as the unity of the communist and all the progressive forces of the labour movement and the left provide the electorate with a clear choice of policies. The fulfilment of that goal has still to be achieved.

Rising Battle

That is one side of the picture. But it is not the whole picture. At the same time the forces are gathering to clear the way forward and rally support for an alternative path. The opposition throughout the labour movement to the reactionary policies of the capitalist offensive conducted by the Labour Government is at a far higher level than in any previous experience. Previous Labour Governments were able to count on the blockbuster force of some of the largest and most powerful unions and their rip-roaring rumbustious chiefs to batter down any rank-and-file opposition or left wing revolts. That is no longer the case. The change is not only in respect of the personal character and role of the outstanding spokesmen of some

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the most powerful unions. It is a reflection of democratic development (including the reversal of bans which still curse and bowdlerise the Labour Party) and strengthened class consciousness of the membership. Previously the constituency labour parties were seen as the voice of the left, and the big unions as the steam-hammer of the right. Now many local parties have been so often filleted and reorganised that they can no longer be assumed to be voices of the left; while some of the largest unions are in the forefront as champions of the left. When the TUC defeated the wage-freeze in September, 1951, it was only by the narrowest of majorities. When the Special TUC in June this year turned down the anti-union offensive of the Labour Government it was by a majority of twenty three to one. The Labour Government has had to face simultaneous condemnation of its anti-working-class policies and opposition, not only from the rank and file movement below, the strikes and lobbies, but officially from the TUC, from its General Council, from the Labour Party Conference, from the Labour Party Executive, and from a wide body of Labour MPs too numerous to be disciplined in the old way in which under previous Labour Governments the tiny groups of courageous left rebels in the parliamentary party used to be guillotined or cast into outer darkness. This is a situation with no previous parallel. It means that the forces are gathering for the great changes which are essential in the labour movement and for the future of Britain.

World in Movement

This crucial battle for the future of Britain and Britain's role in the world is developing in an international situation in which Britain is deeply involved, and in which forces of change and new issues are sweeping forward on every side. In the same month as the meeting of the TUC the chiefs of the International Monetary Fund will be gathering in Washington to grapple with the chaos of currencies which is the reflection of the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism. In the same month the elections in West Germany will throw a partial light on the current alignment of the existing dominant forces and trends in that old storm centre of world war which may have far-reaching significance for the future of war or peace in Europe. Old pillars of personal reactionary domination in leading countries, like Ayub in Pakistan and de Gaulle in France, have had to step down in face of the advance of the popular movement, even though the battle for the future in these countries is still only beginning. In India the old monopoly domination of Congress

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is ended, and the Congress membership is divided in new alignments, as the pressure of the united democratic forces of the left, associating together communists, socialists and democratic Congress members, has compelled the Government to initiate the programme for nationalisation of the banks, in defiance of the old conservative caucus, representing the big monopoly interests, which has so far controlled the levers of the party machine. Zambia has advanced to the bold initiative of nationalising majority ownership of the copper mines hitherto owned by the Anglo-American monopolies. In Peru the Velasco regime has nationalised the Standard Oil subsidiary. Thus the movement of national liberation is advancing to the phase of the fight for economic liberation from the big imperialist monopolies. This advance will have far-reaching consequences for the economy of the imperialist countries, and not least Britain, where the loud talk about the 'loss of empire' has been magnified to distract public attention from the real continuing and even increased dependence of the economy on a considerably extended range of overseas colonialist exploitation.

Western Ferment

This new phase in the advance of national liberation does not mean that the winds of change are confined to the regions of national liberation. The myth of the stability of the advanced capitalist countries in Western Europe and North America has received hard blows. The United States, whose violent intensification of the war in Vietnam alongside peace talk cannot conceal the patent fact that it has lost the war, has become itself a battleground in its home territory. Northern Ireland has stirred anew in the fight for elementary democratic freedoms. The ground rocks under Franco in face of the broad popular movement, ranging from Catholics to Communists, for democratic restoration. In Italy the crux of the chronic governmental crisis turns on the bankruptcy of the attempts to build any stable coalition excluding the Communist Party, and the necessity to build the broadest popular political combination on the firm foundation of Communist-Socialist co-operation drawing in all progressive democratic elements. In France the corresponding issue has been demonstrated by the experience of the Presidential election, which has blown up equally the conception of a centrist left excluding the Communist Party or an isolationist ultra-left, and demonstrated the necessity of the broadest left combination as the only way to defeat the continued domination of conservatism represented by Gaullism.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Which Way Britain?

Britain is not cut off from all these developing changes in the world, but is closely involved at every point. The current fashionable picture of Britain as henceforth a poor little insignificant country deprived of its former empire role, and hoping at best to be another Sweden or to find an illusory salvation by clinging as a second class latecomer to the coat tails of the German-dominated Common Market, is a fantastic fairy tale designed to blind public opinion to the real world role which British policy is at present fulfilling. The British imperialists, although weakened by the advance of national liberation, and by the manifest bankruptcy of their traditional parasitic home economy, continue all the more desperately, with reckless disregard of costs, to endeavour to fulfil the role of a world imperialist power, a main agent of the cold war and imperialist reaction at every point, whether in support of the war in Vietnam or the largely spurious 'withdrawal' from South East Asia, or in fomenting the war in Nigeria, or as the active partner of German militarist reaction with the joint plans for a suicidal nuclear strategy, along a line of policy only too reminiscent of the era of Munich. The costs of this policy fall on the people at home. Therefore the fight to defeat this home offensive against the working class and the people cannot be separated from the fight to change this reactionary foreign policy and establish a new progressive role for Britain in the world. The visit of Premier Kekkonen of Finland to London has served to remind even official circles that the true interests of Britain lie, not in promoting the division of Europe through ganging up with the sectionalism of the Six, but in supporting the plan for a European Security Conference to diminish tension in Europe and further East-West co-operation. The true interests of the British labour movement and people can only lie with the advance and unity of the progressive democratic forces everywhere and with the cause of national liberation and peace.

Thirty Years On

This month in which the TUC meets sees the thirtieth anniversary of Britain's entry into war against Hitler. This anniversary is no mere historical memory, but of very present significance, and not least for the trade union and labour movement. For the fatal policy, centred in London, which opened the gates to Hitler's war, is still alive in London today. There was never a more needless war. Had the Peace Front of Britain, France and the Soviet Union, which the Soviet Union proposed, and for which the masses of the people in

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Britain and France strove, but which their Governments refused, been achieved in time, the way would have been barred to Hitler's aggression. The mass movement for a Popular Front Government to replace Chamberlain, achieve the Peace Front, and hold Hitler in check, reached a tremendous height. The giant rally at the Empire Stadium united political spokesmen of the widest range from Lloyd George to Harry Pollitt on a common platform. The resignation of Eden was a spark which could have kindled the flames of the popular movement to compel change. Who saved Chamberlain in these hours of crisis? Citrine at the head of the TUC, and Morrison in control of the Labour Party machine, in the blindness of their anti-communist hatred rigidly banning any common front. Today it is fashionable to denounce Munich, which only the Communist MP William Gallacher spoke out alone in parliament at the time to denounce, as an evil and shameful memory never to be repeated. So now they repeat it. The essence of the Munichite policy was that in their anti-Soviet obsession they backed the rearmament of German militarism, and thereby sharpened a sword for their own throats, so that finally the Soviet Union had to save them at heavy cost. Now they declare that the lesson of fatal consequences of the Munichite policy of 'appeasement' must be learned; therefore this time they must take a firm line with the Soviet Union and back the rearmament of German militarism. However, this time there is a different wind blowing in the trade union movement; and the TUC can play a decisive part in the fight to reverse this fatal policy of the London-Bonn Axis, BAOR and Healey's nuclear strategy.

Brecht's Warning

It is fitting that on this occasion of recalling the joint war of liberation of the peoples against Hitler and fascism Brecht's powerful satiric drama *The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui* is being performed simultaneously in London and in Moscow. But with a significant difference. At the Mali theatre in Moscow Brecht's text is performed with the climax in the epilogue which is the key to the whole play. After the final curtain, the actor who brilliantly performs with an incredible mastery of an indiarubber face and mime and gesture every succeeding phase of the unforgettable main character, from moments of moronic dejection, whining insinuation, seedy cunning, sudden panic to no less sudden fits of elation, to the final apotheosis when the grotesque figure is mounted amid acclamation on a towering structure and the yapping and barking begins, and the curtain falls, and the audience is applauding the completion of the play; at that

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moment the actor comes from behind the curtain, tears aside the little moustache and Hitlerite accoutrements, and with his own face and voice says simply the message of the epilogue, that this is no mere story of the past, the danger is still present. The effect is electric. The entire audience rose with acclamation. A characteristically Brechtian technique to combine the theatrical representation with the living real world in which the audience participates.

Muffling the Warning

In the London production it is clear from Amelia Bayntun's notice in our last month's issue that the actor of the main part is no less brilliant. But it appears from the letter of our correspondent (p. 426) that in the Saville Theatre production a new climax is foisted on to Brecht at the very end in the shape of a reference to the entry of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia. In other words, the exact opposite of the theme of Brecht's epilogue. A revealing distortion. It is of value that Brecht's play is at any rate produced in London. The search for the real strength of penetrating satire, driving deeper than the long faded efforts of the 'angry young men', inevitably has to have recourse to the Marxist understanding represented by Brecht. But the meat is found too strong; so the poisoned antidote has to be added at the end to turn the conclusion upside down. If it were any other author, one might have said that Brecht would be turning in his grave at this shameless insertion of alien material to distort and falsify the whole message of his play. But it would be more in keeping to say that Brecht would have recognised with a sardonic grin this characteristic expression of the 'freedom' of the cultural world of the West to twist an author's production in order to adapt it to the requirements of current Western imperialist diplomacy.

'Unrepentant Aggressors'

Brecht's warning was very plain, and is more than ever current today. He was concerned to show that the same social-political forces ('the Cauliflower Trust') which produced Hitler and Nazism in the nineteen-twenties and nineteen-thirties are still powerful and in full activity today to produce a similar outcome. The truth of this is abundantly proved with irrefutable evidence in D. N. Pritt's new book *Unrepentant Aggressors*. This book forms an interesting parallel to Jürgen Kuczynski's recent *So war es wirklich* ('That Is How It Really Was'), not yet available in English, in which he sets out to make readers in West Germany realise the truth about

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

developments in that country, across all the propaganda of their government and ruling class. Pritt is concerned to alert British public opinion to the danger. After reviewing the evidence of the continuity of the essential outlook and aims of the present ruling class in West Germany and the ruling class of Germany between the wars, and with full recognition of the courageous role of opposition elements, including from the trade union movement, he sets out his conclusion:

> West Germany as at present ruled is a threat to the peace of the world . . . What is to be done to avert the danger of West Germany? The responsibility rests primarily of course on the people of West Germany, but it rests on others too. We in Britain cannot remain passive, just relying on West German opposition and on the strength of the peace-loving states and peoples, even though that strength is far greater than it was in, say, 1939. We owe an imperative duty to ourselves and to humanity to play our full part, and to exercise all possible pressure on our government and parliament, at present committed to the support of Nato and thus of West Germany in their costly and dangerous anti-socialist policies.

The opposition forces of the popular movement to reverse these dangerous policies is rising in West Germany. Solidarity with this movement, and with the German Democratic Republic, is the vital interest of the British people and of the cause of peace in Europe.

London-Bonn Axis?

It may be recalled how ex-Premier Attlee in 1962, when he had attained the freedom of the House of Lords, warned against the plan to draw Britain into the Common Market as a plan to link up with German reaction:

> We are allying ourselves with six nations of Europe, maybe more. Four of these we rescued years ago from domination by the other two. Now we go cap in hand to a people whom we thought we had beaten in war . . . Once we are in we find ourselves supporting irredentist aims in Germany. We may get some very queer bedfellows (Earl Attlee in the House of Lords, August 2, 1962).

The economic professions of advantage in joining 'Little Europe' have long been abandoned; the Government has so far refused to disclose the figures its officials have calculated on the prospective cost to the balance of payments or the addition to the cost of living. It is now the political aim of 'going into Europe' which is stressed in the forefront: that is, the aim to keep Europe divided, maintain the anti-Soviet formation, in place of accepting the proposal to abolish both blocs, and link Britain with the already stronger and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

openly expansionist West German ruling circles. The maintenance of the costly British armed forces in West Germany is not merely a burden on the balance of payments; for the professed partial 'offset' arrangements are in great part spurious, and include a loan requiring Britain to pay interest and repayments to West Germany for years ahead. It is a direct military menace to Britain; for it means that the moment the West German rulers might judge the situation propitious to try out a blitzkrieg expansion, with the same calculation as Hitler that the big powers would not wish to be involved in a general war to reverse it, Britain would be automatically involved. No less menacing are the Healey-Schröder plans for a joint nuclear strategy, adopting the principle to use nuclear weapons first, the British-West German-Dutch joint plans for producing enriched uranium, and a whole series of parallel steps preparing the way for West German nuclear rearmament. The fight to defeat this suicidal strategy and press the demand for the European Security Conference is now urgent.

Hotbeds of War

It is obvious to everyone that the flames of war already in progress, and the shadows of wars threatening, of the mounting arms race and of the counterposed military blocs, overhang the entire international situation and therefore the domestic situation in each country. But the question of war is too often seen abstractly, in melodramatic visions of a nuclear armageddon and general destruction of the human race, or alternatively the fallacious theory of the 'nuclear stalemate' is used to lull alarms. This is not, however, the present character of the immediate situation, although undoubtedly every further proliferation of nuclear weapons increases the dangers of nuclear war. The question of war or peace is not an abstract question of a hypothetical future, but a concrete question of the living present situation, of the real wars now raging, or the manifest hotbeds of war in key regions. The war of the American invasion of Vietnam is still engaging over half a million American troops with intensified offensives of destruction after all the talk of peace and withdrawal. The war in Nigeria, derived from the policies of British imperialism, has already taken over a million lives. The rulers of Israel still cling to the assertion of the rights of the conqueror's sword to hold the fruits of aggression, and defy the decisions of the United Nations; and the consequent continuous smouldering war could burst into new flames. In Europe the expansionist aims of the West German rulers are openly proclaimed. In the United States the adoption by

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Senate, although by the narrowest of majorities, of the anti-ballistic missiles project holds out the prospect of a new escalation of the arms race. At the same time the advance of the forces for peace has been shown in the United States in the size of the Senate minority vote, reflecting the pressure of the popular movement; the moves for a European Security Conference; and the indications of the possibility of a US-Soviet Summit. In this complex situation the present abnormal phase of the Chinese revolution, repudiating previous policies of friendship and close association with the majority of socialist countries and of the international communist movement, and reflected in the border clashes which have occurred, gives all the more cause for serious concern because these clashes, though still small in scale so far, have arisen between socialist countries and offer a happy hunting ground for imperialist speculation.

No Easy Road

Lenin long ago wrote:

> It is undialectical, unscientific and theoretically wrong to regard the course of world history as smooth and always in a forward direction, without occasional gigantic leaps back (Lenin, *The Junius Pamphlet*, July 1916. *Collected Works*, English edition, Vol. 22, p. 310).

The truth of this warning to be prepared for 'occasional gigantic leaps back' in the general advance of world history has been demonstrated anew by this present abnormal phase of the great Chinese revolution, which has repudiated all the decisions and policies of previous democratically elected congresses, established an extreme form of the cult of personality and rule from above, inflicted heavy setbacks on the previous economic advance and tasks of socialist construction, and adopted a disruptive role in relation to the world socialist community and international communist movement. All friends of China will hope that the forces of the Chinese people will rapidly overcome these retrograde trends and restore China to its rightful place in the world socialist community and the international communist movement. In this complex and critical international situation it is all the more important to work to overcome divisions in the working class movement and among the peoples; to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement in further fulfilment of the aims and wide measure of agreement already reached at the June conference of 75 communist and workers' parties; and to promote the broadest co-operation of all opponents of imperialism and supporters of peace for the associated common aims of national liberation and peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Portsmouth's Twofold Opportunity

In his newly published book *British Foreign Policy and Its Critics 1830-1950*, in which he pays deserved tribute to three of the doughtiest, and today all too neglected champions of British anti-imperialism and critics of British imperialist foreign policy, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, E. D. Morel and Robert Dell, Andrew Rothstein recalls how highly Marx valued the British working-class tradition of 'pressure from without' on the Government in the sphere of foreign policy, and how this tradition has been carried further forward in our day:

> The fight for the second front in 1941-4, the tremendous upheaval against the Tory Government at the time of the conspiracy between the British, French and Israeli Governments to attack Egypt in 1956, the torrent of working-class protest against the threatened American aggression in Cuba in 1962, and, in recent years, the rising tide of popular pressure on the Government against the slavish support of the Americans in Vietnam—all these are signs that, the lower the foreign policy of British imperialism sinks, the higher the level of political comprehension rises among the working people of Great Britain.

Today the Portsmouth TUC has the opportunity to carry forward this tradition alongside the indispensable home fight. Resolutions have been put forward on a series of significant international issues, though Peter Kerrigan in his review notes the weakness by omission in respect of Vietnam and the general issue of peace. In the present situation the key fight against the home offensive of the Government, and especially against the anti-union offensive, inevitably takes first place. But that home offensive cannot be separated from the international policy which gives rise to it. The two fronts of the fight are one. **R.P.D.**

Towards the Lenin Centenary

Lenin's Notebook on the State

Entre nous: if they do me in, I ask you to publish my notebook: 'Marxism on the State' (it got left behind in Stockholm). It's bound in a blue cover. It contains a collection of all the quotations from Marx and Engels, likewise from Kautsky against Pannekoek. There are a number of remarks and notes, and formulations. I think it could be published after a week's work.* I believe it to be important, because not only Plekhanov but also Kautsky have bungled things. The condition: all this is absolutely *entre nous!*

Lenin, *Note to L. B. Kamenev*, July 1917.†
(*Collected Works*, English edition, Vol. 36, p. 454.)

* Later Lenin used this material for his *State and Revolution.*
† Kerensky's attack on the Bolsheviks was in full swing; Lenin was in hiding.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TUC PROSPECTS (1)

Peter Kerrigan

A PERUSAL of the Trades Union Congress agenda, read together with the very comprehensive report of the General Council of its work since last year's Congress, strikingly illustrates the crisis in relations with the Government which has existed over the period. Set out in meticulous detail covering many pages of the report is an account of the protracted negotiations with the Government. There also emerges the results of the mass pressure exerted by the workers against any acceptance of legal sanctions upon workers who take strike action in defence of their conditions, the demand for a Special TUC, the General Council decision to hold it, the vote at the TUC. Only incidentally is there a mention of the great May 1 stoppages, and as far as I can see no mention of the February and June lobbies. The report also contains the text of the agreement made at the end of the June negotiations between the Prime Minister and Barbara Castle with the General Council, which led to the Government reversing its decision to introduce the Bill with its penal clauses before the summer recess. This considerable victory should not blind us to the fact that a trade union Bill is still to come, and as the press reaction to the Port Talbot strike shows the pressure is still on for anti-trade union legislation.

The agenda of the TUC contains the General Council's amendments of Rule 11, Industrial Disputes, and Rule 12, Disputes between Unions, the principle of which was endorsed at the Special TUC on June 5 by a vote of 7,908,000 to 846,000. The first eight motions of the TUC agenda deal in one way or another with changes in TUC structure and will doubtless be pretty carefully scrutinised by delegates.

It is interesting to note that the biggest union affiliated, the Transport and General Workers' Union, has a motion down calling on the Government to ratify the International Labour Organisation Convention on 'equal pay for work of equal value'. The Tailor and Garment Workers' Union makes a similar demand.

There are five resolutions dealing with industrial relations. The most forthright is that of the Draughtsmen and Allied Technicians, which says: 'Congress reaffirms its opposition to anti-trade union legislation and other forms of interference in trade union affairs. It calls on the General Council to lead affiliated unions in aggressive

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opposition, organising all forms of appropriate action, including a one-day strike.'

The two largest groups of resolutions are those under the heading 'Social Insurance and Industrial Welfare', with 20 resolutions, and the section 'Economic Policy and Organisation', containing 21. In the first group there are resolutions dealing with retirement pensions, demanding increases in the special scale for blind persons, alongside a number on safety in industry. The demands on health range from an occupational health service to the provision of health centres.

The first, and I would suggest the most important, resolution in the economic policy section is from the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers (AEF).

> This Congress expresses its concern at the Government's continued deflationary policies and the consequent increase in unemployment. It urges that instead the Government should seek to eliminate the balance of payments deficit by means of:
>
> (*a*) Further cuts in military expenditure, particularly in respect of the BAOR (British Army of the Rhine).
>
> (*b*) Severe restrictions on private overseas investment in industrially advanced countries.
>
> (*c*) A greater degree of selectivity in economic planning, involving discrimination in favour of those industries and services which contribute to the balance of payments.
>
> (*d*) The mobilisation of part of Britain's private overseas assets to buy out short-term sterling balances.

Another important resolution is that of the Transport and General Workers' Union calling for a reaffirmation of the 1967 TUC decision 'in favour of a £15 minimum wage for a normal 40-hour week or less.'

The rapidly growing concern about and opposition to the effects of mergers is reflected in varying degrees in four separate resolutions from the AEF, Boilermakers, Constructional Engineers and the Electricians.

There are only seven resolutions tabled in the international section Two of these, from the Draughtsmen and the Musicians, deal with Apartheid in South Africa. The Draughtsmen support the UN boycott resolution and urges 'all affiliated unions to discourage their members from taking jobs in South Africa.' The Musicians' 'whilst affirming its determination to oppose racialism in Britain in all its forms,' goes on to make a number of proposals including an arms embargo, recognition of the South African Congress of Trade Unions as the representative non-racial anti-Apartheid trade

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

union body of South Africa and calling on the Government to implement the 1962 and 1968 UN resolutions on South Africa.

There are three resolutions on Spain, from the National Union of Mineworkers, Society of Graphical and Allied Trades and the Tobacco Workers' Union. All support the Spanish workers' struggle for freedom and demand freedom for the prisoners.

After previous Congress decisions, and in light of the present situation, a most serious ommission from this section is any motion on the need to end the American intervention and war in Vietnam. The fact that unions have been pre-occupied with the anti-trade union legislation doesn't explain the matter, because some unions have tabled resolutions on Spain, Apartheid, etc. I believe the opening of the peace talks in Paris has made some unions tend to think the matter is not so urgent. There may also have been the thought: 'Well, someone else will do it.' It is also a fact that there is no resolution down dealing with the issue of peace. These are omissions which will undoubtedly weaken the possibility of this important body pronouncing on issues of vital importance to much more than its nine million affiliated members.

Incidentally a considerable part of the international section of the General Council report is taken up with the wrangle which developed in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions around the application of the US United Auto Workers for direct affiliation to the ICFTU following its expulsion from the AFL-CIO. The present position is that, although the ICFTU did not accept the application, the AFL-CIO, which is the United States TUC, has disaffiliated from the ICFTU, declaring in any case that it is dissatisfied with the policy of the ICFTU including its attitude towards the trade unions of the socialist countries.

It is worth while saying a word about the Annual Report of the General Council to the Congress. One can be critical of some of the decisions reported and also its handling of certain problems. To give one example I draw attention to the stress put on the need for plant agreements on productivity and the acceptance of work measurement as the basis.

Nevertheless, this report contains a great mass of material and information of considerable value not only to trade unionists but to the mass of the workers and the people of this country, whether it is education, social services generally, economic problems, international affairs, health. In fact almost everything affecting the life and conditions of the people is touched on. I would wish that a lot of it could become more widely known.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(2)

Ernie Rice
Shop Steward, Royal Group of Docks

THE forthcoming Trades Union Congress must give very serious consideration to the present Government's pre-occupation with productivity bargaining in British industry. The Government urges the workers to accept that productivity agreements are vitally necessary if British industry is to be able to compete in a highly competitive world. In their attempts to convince the workpeople that such agreements are part of the cure for the nation's economic sickness, the Government has completely lost sight of the basic human factors involved.

Productivity agreements can and do bring about great social and economic changes in the lives of those workers in industries where such agreements have been and are being negotiated. The emphasis is on changes in working hours (i.e. a change to shift working), changes in the conditions of work and acceptance of new methods of working: mobility and flexibility, job evaluation, work study, measured day. But most serious of all is the demand that workers shall accept that there is a need for vast reductions in manning scales. In return the employers offer a substantially higher wage and increased fringe benefits, which, when closely examined, bear no relation to the resulting increases in productivity and profit.

There are two very conflicting views as to what is meant by productivity bargaining. The trade union movement regard this as a method by which the workpeople will improve their earnings and conditions by mutual agreement at their place of work by offering more efficient working; but it has to be a continuous arrangement, a continuing right to bargain at the place of work and always taking into account the increased production and rises in cost of living. There would be an insistence that employers must open their books to the trade unions, in order that the unions may have the full facts in relation to costs and profits, so that negotiators can easily and readily assess what shall be the workers' fair share of the profit that is gained as a result of the productivity agreement.

Employers and the Department of Economic Planning take the view that what they want is not bargaining, but rather a productivity bargain, a bargain whereby the employer obtains sole complete control in exchange for *one* substantial change in the wages structure. In addition we now have those employers who are attempting, apparently with Government blessing, to introduce insidious penal

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clauses, designed to restrain the workers, in order to ensure the increase of profits.

The DEP and the Prices and Incomes Board insist that productivity agreements shall bring about a considerable reduction in the overall costs of production and that these reductions should be passed on to the consumer, especially in the field of exports. The employers, who consistently maintain that the highest costs in industry are the labour costs, have seized the opportunity, through productivity agreements, to launch an all-out attack upon the labour forces, to demand that there shall be reductions in manning and that, in fact, redundancies shall become the order of the day.

Throughout British industry, the accent is now on cutting costs, becoming more competitive through the introduction of productivity bargains. It is more and more apparent that it is becoming increasingly difficult for those who are thrown out of work as a result of such bargains to find and secure any alternative employment. The Government retraining schemes are of little value either, for as unemployment rises, the schemes are proving inadequate. The TUC has an obligation to ensure that the Government recognises its full responsibilities to workers so affected. The individual trade unions must take steps to ensure that none of their members are offered up on the sacrificial altar, to the great god 'Profit'.

A study of the effects of unemployment, upon the human mind and spirit, which was conducted during the depression years of the 1930s, showed that where there is a will and an ability to work, to be denied the right to work has a most dramatic depressing and degrading effect upon the minds and spirits of those who are suffering this indignity. What was true then is equally true today, despite the social security system which now exists. It is not enough just to provide an unemployed man with sufficient to pay the rent and provide the food for his family and himself. There is very much more to life than sleeping and eating.

The TUC must unite the whole trade union movement to oppose the Government policy and theory that productivity bargains are part of the cure for the economic malaise that is continually affecting our nation. The TUC must declare its resolve that it will never allow British employers to use productivity agreements to enhance their profits at the expense of human rights and dignity. The TUC must declare its intention to oppose by every means at its disposal, including industrial action, any employer who attempts to restrain trade unionists by introducing penal clauses into productivity bargaining. Every rank-and-file trade unionist has an obligation

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to ensure that he or she is fully informed of every aspect of any productivity agreement being negotiated for his or her industry.

Finally, every negotiator has a duty to ensure that his members are completely aware, and have an understanding, of all that is being proposed in any such agreements; to quote the General Secretary-elect of my own organisation, the Transport and General Workers' Union, Brother Jack Jones: 'No negotiator has the moral right to start to change a worker's life without asking him.' Productivity bargains, as envisaged by the employers, are most certainly intended to change the workers' lives.

---

(3)

Roger Lyons
Divisional Officer,
Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs

AS the 101st Trades Union Congress occurs, many of the affiliated unions are considering various proposals for restructuring the TUC, and are taking into account the various changes in the labour movement that will have to be reflected in the discussion on possible restructuring. One of the significant developments in the past ten years or so, has been the growth of unionisation amongst white-collar workers in the private sector of British industry. While most commentaries have noted the growth factor, not quite so much attention has been paid to the increasingly aggressive industrial policies pursued by the unionised white-collar workers.

It is worth while for every activist in the labour movement to consider carefully this trend, for it shows all the signs of gathering force as a permanent ingredient of contemporary industrial relations. Indeed, there has hardly been one day in the past few years that such militant trade unions as the Draughtmen's and Allied Technicians' Association (DATA) and ASTMS, grouping white-collar workers, have not had at least one official strike in operation, let alone the considerable number of actions being pursued spontaneously by members in their workplaces. Of course the number of strikes is not the only indicator of the level of activity, for as the members consolidate their strength, it becomes proportionately 'easier' to force wages and conditions advances, without necessarily having always to wield the ultimate weapon of withdrawal of labour.

There are those who consider white-collar militancy to be slightly 'Poujadist', as a form of protest by dissatisfied elements of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

middle-class, and not really a true part of the struggle of the labour movement. This is a false analysis.

In an advanced capitalist society, the industrial proletariat must incorporate the white-collar grades, and every effort has to be made to cement relationships at every level to ensure the closest co-operation in the daily (and longer-term) struggles with the increasingly concentrated employing class. Technological changes are reducing the proportion of blue-collar employees in industry, with a consequent enlarging effect on the white-collar field. The labour movement must resist the possibility of becoming a relatively small minority movement, as is the case in the USA, where white-collar union organisation in the private industrial sector is weak.

Increases in educational opportunity since 1945 have had a marked effect upon the field of employment openings for working-class children. More and more are taking qualifications, such as the Higher National Certificate (HNC) and the General Certificate of Education (GCE) 'O' levels, enabling themselves to enter jobs in the white-collar fields. Thus whole areas of white-collar employment, including laboratories, drawing-offices and typing pools, are staffed by those who, thirty or forty years ago, would have worn blue collars. And these trends are increasing. Consequently it is essential that the labour movement enables these grades to organise and take their rightful place in the trade union movement.

However, organisation is not the only step that has to be made. Vitally important are the needs to give a militant industrial leadership, and a progressive orientation to the newly organised. Policies against redundancies and for re-evaluation of wages and conditions, require both militant tactics on a day-to-day basis, as well as socialist strategy to transform a capitalist society in the longer term. Such unions as ASTMS and DATA are attempting to fulfil both of these requirements, on the basis of repeated mandates by their annual conferences, and leadership from their executives. The difficulties of attempting this course should not be under-estimated.

For example, the factor of rapid growth alone creates real problems. In the last 18 months, ASTMS has had one new member for every three original members of the former Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians and the Association of Scientific Workers. Thus 25 per cent of the membership have only just become trade unionists, and a tremendous amount of time and energy has had to be expended by the union in integrating and educating this new intake, while maintaining industrial activity.

Another difficulty for the militant unions is the interference by

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Government in collective bargaining, as in the cases of the wage freeze and the Prices and Incomes Board. While posing a challenge which has been accepted by the unions, the governmental interference diverts members' attention from the real target: the employer. A glaring example of this is that of the recent ICI staff award being frozen in part by the government, on the advice of the PIB. Promptly ICI, following a spectacular leap in profits, wrote at length to every staff employee, condemning the Labour Government for blocking the award which the company was desperately keen to pay from the surplus profits to their staff! While governmental activity of this kind exposes the true nature of the Labour Government to many of those who voted it into power with such enthusiasm in 1964 and 1966, it does not necessarily make the white-collar worker turn to a socialist solution for the economic ills of our society, especially with the conditioning effects of mass media.

One attempt to remedy this situation is the good number of day and weekend schools on industrial, economic and political subjects being organised by the militant white-collar trade unions, but there is clearly a need for much more educational activity of this kind to be initiated by all the progressive sections of the labour movement.

Inside the militant white-collar trade unions, activities such as large combine stewards' meetings and industrial conferences are growing in number, regularity and decision-making authority. In

---

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

The lock-out of the Lancashire cotton workers is the biggest industrial struggle in Britain since the miners' lock-out of 1926. The experiences of the workers in this struggle have most important lessons for all workers, since in it we have seen the full alliance of the employers, Mondist trade union officials and the Labour Government.

The long-planned attempt of the Master Spinners' and Spinners' and Manufacturers' Federations to cut the wages of the mill workers ended on July 27 in the lock-out of 500,000 cotton workers. The demand of the employers was for a 12.82 per cent reduction on current wages—a demand which, if effected, would reduce the wages of the cotton workers by 3s. to 8s. per week . . .

At the end of the first week of the lock-out, the Spinners' Amalgamation organised a series of mass meetings of spinners and piecers for the purpose of asking for full power to be given to the Executive Council to negotiate the best terms possible. The results of these district meetings showed decisive majorities against giving full power to the Executive Council, the votes expressing the growing opposition of the rank and file to the officials who had proposed discussion of the principle of wage reductions.

(From 'The Cotton Lock-out', by H. Lee, *Labour Monthly*, September 1929.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

almost all cases these are actively supported, both organisationally and financially, by the union officials, unlike the situation in certain unions, where such lay gatherings are frowned upon, if not banned as unconstitutional! As the employers concentrate their power, with mergers and government financial hand-outs, so the white-collar workers in such combines as GEC-AEI-EE, British Leyland and Plesseys are harnessing their strength to achieve new breakthroughs in wages and conditions. Often selective strike action in key areas, with those withdrawn being on up to full pay from the union, is used to induce a speedy and bountiful settlement. Thus in British Leyland, ASTMS foremen have won a minimum increase this year of £3 per week, following a similar increase in 1968, while in certain firms the fifth week's holiday entitlement is being won.

As the large employers strive for even greater profits, under the benevolent guidance of government ministries, it is thought not unreasonable by white-collar workers that substantial redistribution should be forced through by the employees of such companies. An example of this is the ASTMS technicians' group at GEC Telecommunications, Coventry, who went on strike for a $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent increase in pay, which they felt Mr. Weinstock could well afford. The militant unions refuse to become paralysed recipients of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent 'norm', while profits and stock exchange prices soar.

The strength of the organised white-collar workers is also being used to resist the wholesale redundancy plans of magnates such as Weinstock of GEC-AEI-EE. Although substantial cash payments and transfer terms were won by ASTMS, DATA and the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union in the fight over the AEI Woolwich closure, the closure itself could not be blocked. The unions have learnt from their experience, and the redundancy proposals for the Lancashire plants at Netherton, Liverpool and Trafford Park are being forcibly resisted.

Thus white-collar workers are flexing their muscles, both for protection, and in the struggles for advances. This relatively new section of the labour movement, in relation to the numbers involved, can be seen as a stimulus to all those activists in other unions, engaged in the daily battle to protect and further the interests of the working class. While there is undoubtedly a great deal still to be learnt by the rapidly growing militant white-collar unions, it should be noted that they are not developing into conservative or reactionary groupings, intent on preserving the *status quo*, as has been the case with certain similar groupings in other countries.

Rather they are seeking a genuine role within the mainstream

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the labour movement, based on policies of industrial militancy and progressive programmes for the future. This trend augurs well for the future of the British labour movement.

TEACHERS AND THE CUTS

Judy Cotter

FEARS of teacher unemployment are strong among many new teachers leaving colleges of education this summer and alarm is spreading through the profession as a whole. During the summer both the National Union of Students and the National Union of Teachers carried out surveys in the colleges to investigate this situation. NUS revealed that out of a total of twelve colleges 15 per cent of the former students were still without jobs. On this basis about 5,000 of the 34,500 students who completed their training in July had not yet been appointed to a post. The NUT survey had similar results; in fact it showed that in some colleges the percentage was as high as 50 per cent. Mr. David Logan NUS deputy president-elect said that NUS did not share Mr. Short's optimism and 'We are far from convinced that all the teachers will have found jobs by September.' The NUT has issued a warning to the Government saying that it would not tolerate such a situation with 'the continuing need for all available qualified teachers.'

Mrs. Shirley Williams, Minister of State for Education, has said that there should not be too much difficulty in finding posts if teachers were prepared to be 'mobile' and move around the country to areas with vacancies. But this is totally unacceptable for most teachers who feel 'mobility' should be a matter of personal choice. For the many married women teachers 'mobility' would prove impossible for obvious family reasons. The Government's answer appears even more inadequate when one remembers that the problem is not restricted to any particular area of the country.

What then is the truth of the situation? We know that in this country there is a crying need for more teachers, the Government over the last few years having spent considerable financial effort encouraging more people to go into teaching and married women teachers to return to the profession. Yet qualified teachers are unable to find posts or must move to an area of the country not of their own choosing and probably involving family difficulties—a situation surely more reminiscent of the 1920's than the present day.

The situation is one result of the Government's decision to cut the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

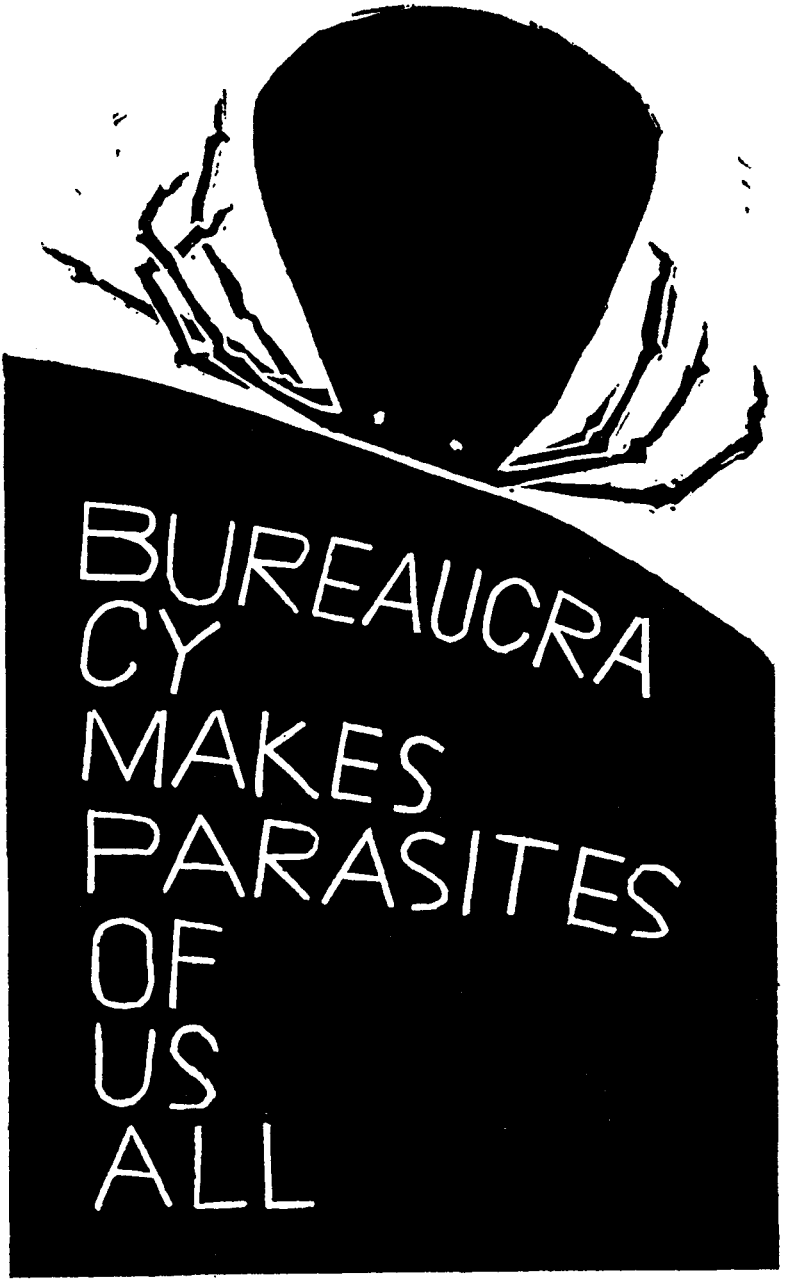
growth rate of local authority expenditure to three per cent in real terms for 1969-70. However local authorities reckon to spend in real terms an average of five to six per cent. The result is that authorities who need the five or six per cent will have to cut back. They cannot cut back on teachers' salaries or debt charges. How do they cut back? Already the raising of the school leaving age has been postponed together with the abolition of free school milk for children over the age of eleven.

Already authorities are cutting back on educational facilities, buildings, maintenance, transport, plans for nursery schools and classes. Even these are not enough and further cuts are sought by employing fewer teachers during 1969-70 than their quota allows or only employing their quota of full-time teachers at the expense of other teachers—part-time, remedial and supply teachers, a considerable blow to the married women returners. Militant action is now being prepared by NUT members in Coventry. Last March Coventry education committee threatened to sack 328 part-time teachers and last Easter 120 were sacked. This month the NUT will gather information on the staffing position at all the 150 Coventry schools and afterwards comparisons will be made with last year's figures. The union will tell its members to withdraw their labour from schools where there has been a deterioration in the staffing position, some children in Coventry last term felt the effect of the Easter sackings by cuts in such activities as French, swimming, school visits, handiwork, physical education, dancing and music.

Mr. Edward Short however sees all this not as cuts but as no more than a 'slowing down in the growth rate of the education service.' No doubt many parents and teachers would like to ask Mr. Short whether we can afford to 'slow down' when we need 40,000 more teachers to cut numbers down to 30 in secondary classes and to 40 in primary, with £1,000 million needed to replace all out-of-date and slum schools (half of London's primary schools were built before 1902), with 200,000 *extra* children in schools this year.

Cuts in facilities and staff means overcrowded classes. Lack of adequate provision and individual attention from the teachers means our children will suffer and the wastage of their potential which will not be developed. The future development and happiness of our children depends on a growth of education. The NUT in decisions taken at its Douglas conference showed that it does not accept the Government's reasons for the cuts, but teachers need the help of the general public and the trade union movement to combat the cuts and improve education.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



From *The Hornsey Affair*,
by Students and Staff of Hornsey College of Art.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Penguin Books, 220 pp., 6s.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A PEACE POLICY FOR ISRAEL

Ivor Montagu

'WE have sympathy for the Jews who came to Palestine before the war, for they were deceived by the Zionists. We have sympathy for those who came after the war—for they were victims of Hitler. But the Jews who come to our country now—as conquerors—we just cannot understand them.'

I heard these words recently at an international conference. They were spoken by a delegate of the Palestine liberation movement, in answer to an Israeli delegate who was complaining that to discuss immigration into Israel was an infringement of Israeli sovereignty.

Some day there is going to be a general awakening in Israel to the fact that these words contain a key to the Middle East problem, and that ensuring a solution to the problem of the future welfare of the people of Israel need not be so difficult, if only they shake themselves free of the Zionist confidence trick that ties their security to a policy of unlimited expansion, if only they realise that their future must be as one loyal people among others in the region and not as a front for outside imperialist interests. The problem to be resolved is not, and never has been, Arab against Jew, as Israel's rulers and its wire-pullers abroad pretend, but the problem of far-off imperialist would-be rulers making use of Jewish fears to embroil Jew with Arab and thus hold back the struggle of all the Arab peoples of the region for national independence and advance.

This is why, precisely, every voice from Israel dissenting from the Zionist myth, as does this book*, is of first importance. The book does not deal in an up-to-date manner with the first necessary step toward eventual peace in the Middle East—the implementation of the UN resolution, but it does act as a healthy corrective for those many who, deeply distressed as all must be by the sufferings and insecurity of Jewish people throughout history, are deceived into imagining that effective sympathy requires uncritical acceptance of the theories and pretensions of Israel's rulers.

Jewish people are the last of all who can rationally be racists. Ethnologically considered, Jewish racism is even more illogical than the Nazis' Aryan twaddle. There are black Jews in Ethiopia, yellow Jews in China and as for European and American Jews—a goodly proportion are not semites at all but have the broad faces and wide

---

* *Israel Without Zionists*, Uri Avnery. *Macmillan*, 216 pp., 35s.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

noses of mongoloids, for their ancestors never knew Palestine: these derive from the mass conversion of the Khazar kingdom in South Russia a few centuries ago.

Yet the Zionists, taking advantage of the sufferings of the Jews at Hitler's hands, and the sore on the conscience of humanity that failed to prevent it, have played a neat confidence trick in equating the Jew of today with the Jew of the Bible. Further, by blurring the distinction between Jew and Israeli, they have succeeded in turning the fraction of the Jewish people in Palestine into a racist, theocratic state at the expense of its previous inhabitants and in picturing the consequent conflict as one between Jew (the ancient victim) and Arab (the dog-in-the-manager owner of plenty of states and room for everyone who grudges—in the picture established by their fiction—a tiny place for his displaced brothers within his manifold broad acres).

Sedulously propagandising another myth, that of the heroic dwarf state (Israel equals David in this legend) repeatedly withstanding the incompetent overbig enemy (the totality of Arab lands being Goliath), they have successfully concealed the fact that none of these victories could have been won except by climbing upon the shoulders of, and parasitising, imperialism. There would never have been a 'Jewish home in Palestine', if it had not been for cynical exploitation of the struggle of the imperialists in the first world war, blackmailing first one side then the other until the cunning Balfour thought he saw a chance to jettison both promises to the Arabs and engagements to the French, by using Zionism as a screen for British imperial expansion. And the Israeli state itself, with its Zionist myths of Jewish Herrenvolk status and right to successive expansions, could not last more than a (metaphorical) day, whether economically or militarily, if it did not serve the ends of US imperialism and its satellites by continually menacing all that is progressive and unifying among the indigenous peoples of the region.

The arrogance, chauvinism and aggression involved in the claim that all Jews, even that true Israeli patriotism, must bow down to and serve the Zionist myth, has no precedent but Hitler's claim that all Germans owed allegiance to the Nazi thesis. On the contrary, just as those who fought Hitler were not anti-German, but true friends of Germany or, if themselves German, the real German patriots, while Nazism, instead of securing a 1,000 years Reich for Germany, doomed it to disaster, so all who wish well to Israel and its people, who wish to help them to a permanent national acceptance, peace and happiness in the region, must support those who are striving for an alternative to the Zionist policies and rulers. All the vaunted temporary military

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

superiority enjoyed today by Israel can give its people nothing more than the illusory security of the myopic. A theocratic racialism, defiant of the whole current of human morality, can never be a lasting foundation. An Israel that embodies it is as surely doomed ultimately as is 'white' supremacy in Southern Africa. It is an offence that not French planes, British tanks or US finance and the US fleet in the Mediterranean can ever lastingly protect. Not just I, but others before me also, have made this point ('All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword'—*Matthew*; and 'Put not thy trust in princes' (even Nixon and Wilson)—*Psalms*).

The stronger Israel grows, as a racist, theocratic state, tool of imperialism, the more antagonisms and hatred she is bound to arouse. The more, as night follows day, her situation leads her to attack her neighbours, expand and swallow their lands, absorb, as deprived persons and second-class citizens, peoples who can only desire her overthrow. The process is inevitable and can have but one end, not security, but that of the frog in Aesop's fable. Not the sword against wronged neighbours, but only reconciliation and *identification with* these neighbours, on the basis of righting the wrongs inflicted by her formation, can secure the survival—in the long run—of Israel in Palestine.

The proof is that not one but *two* intense nationalities have come into being in the area since the Zionist nightmare began to take shape and become concrete: these are the Israel *and* the Palestine identity and as the one grows stronger the other becomes ever more and more conscious and real. They must and can marry.

There is no ultimate incompatibility between the dream of Israeli security, restored to the path of the noble and characteristic contribution to humanity of Jewish thought of the past (utterly submerged and assassinated by the Zionist rulers and present Zionist policy of Israel) —namely, justice between man and man—and the noble aspiration proclaimed by the Palestine liberation movement: a secular Palestine in which all—Arab, Jew, Christian, Moslem—all, including all Jews now in Israel and all former Palestinians and immediate descendants who wish to return—shall dwell with equal rights in a fully democratic state.

That the new generation on the Palestine side should so fiercely and consistently proclaim this policy is already the most powerful feature of the situation, more powerful than the brutal swords of the Zionists who can see only a perspective of endless force and discrimination that endangers Israel and, repellent to the whole current of mankind's advance, must therefore spell its ultimate destruction.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Uri Avnery, the author of *Israel Without Zionists*, is by no means a solitary voice of dissent in Israel. Readers of *Labour Monthly* are familiar with the principled and even heroic stance of the Communist Party of Israel, led by Vilner and Toubi, in which side by side already Jew and Arab pursue a firm anti-imperialist, secular, anti-discriminatory and democratic line within Israel itself. There are already many, and will be more, dissenters. The hopeless impasse to which the Zionist policy—of subservience to imperialism, of discrimination and unlimited immigration at home, and of military retaliation and aggression as the vainly attempted solutions to all difficulties abroad—has brought Israel is becoming apparent to more and more independently minded Israelis. This important development in turn will have its impact on those sympathisers abroad—Jew and non-Jew alike—who, wishing well to Israel and to its neighbours—have been so deceived hitherto by the Zionist myth and its arrogant demand for unqualified support.

Avnery is a former Irgun nationalist and Israeli soldier, now an independent Knesset member (MP) and editor of an influential independent weekly. He did not hesitate to support the Israeli Government at the outbreak of the Six Days War. All this makes his doubts not less, but more interesting. His book is extremely readable, full of subtle analysis and intelligent, if cynical, judgement of the characters and political policies of leading personalities and parties in Israel today. Firmly attacking Zionist policy of unlimited expansion and reliance on imperialist aid, he subtitles his book 'A Plea for Peace in the Middle East' and calls not only for a federation of Israel and a new Arab Republic of Palestine but the creation of a 'Semitic Union' (unfortunate name) allying all the states of the region.

It is an extremely interesting detail (friends of Israel please note) that, holding such views and with no party backing, Avnery received seven per cent of the popular vote standing as candidate for President, the same figure, curiously enough, as that cast for the sinister Dayan.

Of course there is a gulf between the views of such as Avnery, to whom a *total* autonomy of structure is a *sine qua non* for Israel in any Palestine Federation, and that of the Palestine liberation front, which holds that the new secular Palestine must not differentiate between its citizens, and to whom a division which deprives Palestinians of, or continues to treat them as inferiors in, any part of their homeland is anathema, but this is neither theoretically nor practically unbridgeable.

On the other hand it is unnecessary to take any starry-eyed view of the possibilities of *immediate* agreement on a single state (remote

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

still in view of the fears, angers, hatred and injustice that prevail on all sides), in order to perceive that many state forms (e.g. cantonisation and confederation, as in Switzerland), of which it remains for the peoples concerned to find and work out at the right time that most appropriate, could eventually fit the bill and meet the needs of all.

The main point is that Zionist policy and ambitions can only mean the perpetuation of injustice to the original inhabitants of Palestine and peril to the adjoining states. Hence Zionism precludes negotiation and dooms Israel, sooner if forsaken by the imperialists, but, soon or late, inevitably. Avnery's book shows that, once this is rejected, there could at last be room for dialogue.

PAN-AFRICAN FESTIVAL

Alex La Guma*

TO the South the Atlas mountains sprawl in rugged, blue-grey ramparts that have divided the coast of northern Africa from the rest of the continent since time immemorial. Today these mountains are no longer a barrier, and when more than 30 national delegations from independent African states crossed them to gather in Algiers for the first Pan-African Cultural Festival the feeling was that the dream of a unified Africa should not be seen as a mere mirage of the Sahara. As the planes swept over the Atlas range to dispatch their hosts of delegates and participants at Dar El Beida airport outside Algiers, there was the confidence that all the diversities which make up Africa had something to offer each other and so create yet another step towards unity in many spheres.

For two weeks the theatres, public places and sports stadium throbbed nightly with the drums, flutes and songs of Africa. Ballet from Guinea, the folk-dancing from Morocco, Togo, Dahomey; the instrumental ensembles from Algeria, Zambia, Ghana; modern jazz orchestras from Libya, Zimbabwe, Mauretania and Congo-Brazzaville; these were only a few of the events from scores of items which were the cultural and artistic contributions from every part of the continent. The only states not represented on a governmental level were those of the racist dominated South—these were represented by contingents from the liberation movements, the ANC (South Africa), FRELIMO (Mozambique), MPLA (Angola) and PAIGC ('Portuguese' Guinea).

* Alex La Guma is a South African writer. His short stories and his three novels, *A Walk in the Night*, *Stone Country* and *A Threefold Cord*, will be well-known to many of our readers.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the words of Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity which sponsored the festival:

> It was with the knowledge of the importance of culture to the Pan-African goals in mind that the men who signed the OAU Charter placed high among the principles and objectives of the Organisation the desire to strengthen the ties between the peoples of Africa by means of education and cultural exchanges as the best way to overcome linguistic barriers and establish mutual understanding and efficient co-operation between the peoples of the continent.

During the first two sessions of the OAU's Education and Cultural Commission held in 1964 and 1965, the recommendation was made that a pan-African cultural festival be organised. In February 1968 the generous invitation from the Algerian Government to hold the first pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers was unanimously accepted and it was agreed that it would take place in July 1969.

The importance given to the total social phenomenon of the Algiers festival was such that it could not be reduced to a mere stock-taking of African culture in all its aspects, but had to involve also a public recognition by the continent of the role of culture in its development and progress. The Algiers festival was meant to help confirm the self-awareness and expression of the African cultural phenomenon, to assist in creating the outlines of a culture able to serve in the future as an instrument of social and economic change.

Thus during the course of the festival a symposium met each day to discuss the theme: 'African culture, its reality, its role in the liberation struggle, in the consolidation of African unity and the economic and social development of Africa.'

The symposium brought together a host of African personalities, most of them responsible for cultural affairs in their countries, and a great number of scientists, ethnologists, anthropologists and sociologists whose work had contributed to knowledge of African culture. In addition a great number of personalities from the world cultural scene were invited, broadening the scope of the assembly to cover the whole of the world and providing a wider audience to the exchanges which Africa wishes to effect with other regions.

The spirit governing both the symposium and the festival therefore was linked to the proposition that cultural phenomena can no longer be dissociated from history and the development of social groups to which they give expression; that no culture can exist apart from other cultures. Thus the festival gave the opportunities to African nations to get to know each other and also to let the world know what Africa is, and what she means to make of her future.

The symposium, held at the Palace of Nations at the Club de Pins on the coast, was naturally the scene of lively and high level discus-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sions on what is good and worthwhile in culture and for progress, and what constituted cultural deadwood to be discarded.

Inevitably there were debates on 'Negritude', on the influence of imperialism and colonialism, on the economic direction Africa should take, apart from contributions on particular aspects of culture such as music, folklore, literature.

A final statement called the 'Manifesto of African Culture' was adopted at the end of the festival and symposium, formulating the general lines of all opinions submitted. Obviously there could be no hard and fast resolution, but the important aspect which emerged out of all the diversities of the contributions, diversities characteristic of Africa, was the synthesis which might be illustrated in the words of the delegate from Guinea:

> The cultural and technical aspects of a society are a part of the whole revolutionary cause. Revolutionary culture is a powerful fighting weapon and a material force for the people. Before the revolution it constitutes an indispensable part of the battlefront of total revolution. Science and culture fit perfectly into the general mechanism of the struggle, as weapons of unity and education for the destruction of the enemy with one heart and one will.

"I KNOW WE WOULDN'T BE IN POWER WITHOUT YOUR HELP BUT IM NOT SURE WE SHOULD FLY THAT FROM THE ACROPOLIS."

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STUDENT UNITY AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Fergus Nicholson

THE student movement has to learn and re-learn painfully with each student generation lessons which arise more readily from the experience of the organised labour movement.

Drawing on that experience, past organisations of the student left, the University Socialist Federation, the University Labour Federation, the Student Labour Federation, even the National Association of Labour Student Organisations, have recognised the importance of unity in action. If unity was attacked it was from the right by bans and proscriptions.

Today however the student left is pulled in two opposite directions. Even the members of the numerous sectarian groups are appalled at the fragmentation of the left and see the impossibility of seriously tackling the authorities in this disarray. But at the same time, they and many other left-wing students are understandably attracted by a different approach, one which imposes innumerable conditions for unity, an approach whose watchwords are confrontation, politicisation and polarisation.

This has been brought about by what the present generation of students have heard of right-wing leaders in trade unions and seen of right-wing Labour in government, complemented by their recent experience of 'moderate' leadership of the national student unions. The irony is that each carefully calculated, outrageous step to the right by right-wing leadership, far from spontaneously recruiting support to the left, actually drives more young people out of the movement altogether.

At the same time as the socialism of the labour movement has been discredited, by association with right-wing Labour government, the appeal of socialism as it really exists on the face of the earth, warts and all, has been diminished for a generation to which has been relayed every word of painful exposure of each crime, shortcoming or difficulty in the building of socialism, but little or nothing of the overwhelming credit balance of that historical process.

Consequently we have neither right nor reason to be surprised if they prefer protest to pressure, spontaneity to organisation, and are prepared to break the ranks in favour of this or that group or sub-group which they feel has not yet sold out, and in which they can act out their revolutionary impulse.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the socialist societies this has meant a willingness on left grounds to split, leaving 'right-wingers'—as they see them—(such as *Tribune* supporters or anyone else with hopes about parliament) in one society and would-be 'revolutionaries' first in one other society, subsequently in several according to the sect of their choice. Elsewhere students with a position corresponding to the Labour left have been talked out of existence by the sectarians or driven to exile in, for example, the United Nations Student Association or the Student Christian Movement.

If the flow of recruits to the labour movement from the colleges is to be resumed, the effort must be made in the coming session to re-establish in each college single socialist societies which do not in effect impose a full revolutionary programme (as conceived by this or that group) on their members, and do not damn to reactionary darkness every student of nineteen whose social criticism falls short of theirs. We urgently need such societies to provide what students, through no fault of their own, inevitably lack, an opportunity to hear from authentic spokesmen of the organised working class, of the labour movement.

The slogan 'United we stand, divided we fall' has application not only to the socialist students, but also to the student body in their student unions, and to the whole student movement in relation to the labour movement.

Virtually identical arguments are deployed against existing student unions and against existing trade unions. In each case the organisation is written off as bureaucratic when the core of the problem is the policies pursued by those elected to lead them. Thus we can find left-wingers making an incursion into a college union one day to urge disaffiliation from the national union, and the next day repudiating the college union as beneath their contempt. Nowhere has this produced a new more vigorous student organisation. Instead the ebbing tide leaves student unions too weak to fight a simple grants case against a single recalcitrant local education authority. Over the past year this splintering process in the unions has been reduced, particularly with the increased readiness of the National Union of Students to identify itself with the actual concerns of the student body. This gives hope that in this coming session we shall see a revival of the move to transform the college student unions into live democratic effective representatives and organisers of the student body.

Of course the really big question as yet unsolved is neither the unity of left-wing students in their socialist societies nor the unity

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the whole student body in their student unions, but the uniting of the student movement with the labour movement.

I don't mean those students who think they are god's gift to the workers: neither those on the right who hawk their degrees and debating triumphs round constituency Labour Party selection conferences, nor those on the left who get their sociology practice telling trade unionists how to conduct an industrial dispute.

At this stage the organised student movement is not strong enough to have much to offer to the labour movement, though the support by the National Union of Students for the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs' strike in the university laboratories was worth something. But the student movement needs the support of the labour movement to implement its own policies.

At present, opportunities for entry to higher education vary enormously according to parents' income and status. This in turn determines much in the style and structure of the colleges against which students are kicking. Here surely is the cause to be taken up jointly by the student and labour movements: the cause of the students who never become students because they find it necessary instead to choose to be wage-earners at sixteen or eighteen.

VIETNAM AND MEDICAL AID

Dr. Joan K. McMichael
Hon. Secretary, Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam

VIETNAM is no longer front page news. The 'fifth consecutive day in the heaviest aerial bombardment of the war' is reported by *The Times* on page six in the last three lines of a long report from Washington: 'Nixon Faces Obstacles in Search for Peace'.

In view of what virtually amounts to a conspiracy of silence, the publication of *An American Friends* (Quakers) *Service Committee White Paper on Ending the War** on May 5, 1969, is of exceptional importance. 'In our judgement, the human situation in Vietnam today is worse than it has ever been; . . . and the tempo of destruction has increased, not decreased, since the beginning of the Paris talks and the bombing halt.'

Detailed figures of destruction follow:

* *An American Friends Service Committee White Paper on Ending the War*, obtainable from Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, price 1s., or in duplicated form on application to the Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam, P.O. Box 100, 36 Wellington Street, London, W.C.2.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> Hundreds of thousands of acres have been defoliated, countless villages have been razed, and bomb craters pock-mark the country-side. B-52 raids alone have torn 2½ million holes 45 feet in diameter and 30 feet deep—holes that are now filled with water and serve as breeding grounds for malarial mosquitoes and other insects. More tons of explosives have been dropped on this tiny country than were dropped on all the Axis powers in all of World War II, *and with every month that passes the loads are bigger and the bombs heavier.*

An indication of what this means in human terms was given by Dr. Vennema,* Director of the Canadian Government's 'Medical Mission to Vietnam', in an interview on Toronto Radio Station in January 1968, *before* the intensification of the bombing in the South with the beginning of the Paris talks.

> Now probably one-third or 50 per cent of the country-side is demolished and so there is a great shortage of food. In our particular provinces there are refugees who have gone without food for several days and in our provincial hospitals the third most common cause of death among children is malnutrition.

The figures for refugees, given in the White Paper are staggering.

> Four million people have fled their homes and become refugees in a country where land and village roots have an importance unknown in Western culture . . . Many thousands have been forced from their homes at short notice, incarcerated in tent cities and then, after weeks or months, have been permitted to return to their villages—their homes destroyed, their animals dead, and their fields mined . . .

The *US Senate Sub-Committee Report on the Problems of Refugees and Civilian Casualties in Vietnam* (quotations are from extracts in the *Report of the Committee of Responsibility for War Burned and War Injured Vietnamese*, August 1968) gives details, and indicates some of the health problems which arise.

> The crowded conditions of the cities and the refugee camps in the interior are perfect breeding grounds for disease and epidemics. A few weeks ago a doctor shocked many of his colleagues by giving a medical paper on the probability of a major plague epidemic in Vietnam based on current conditions there.

In the Saigon Areas (quotations from *Senate Sub-Committee Report* above):

> At Da Nang Hospital, one is greeted by the faces of the injured who have lain on cots or on the floor for months or even a year or more, hopefully waiting for surgery. Since the fresh war casualty receives the first care, there is no time to get around to the less urgent cases. Still there is no drinking water available, no toilets.
>
> In Quang Ngai Hospital, there was a ward full of cases of bubonic plague.

---

* Interview with Dr. Vennema—reproduced in *Medicine in Vietnam at War*, price 2s., obtainable from the Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Well over 100 cases have developed in recent months. None of these cases was officially recorded because full clinical laboratory proof was required and there was no lab.

At Quang Ngai, an internist (house physician) described how he had discovered that patients were receiving only one out of three prescribed penicillin shots. The remaining two were not being given—instead, the penicillin was being sold on the black market. Again, conditions of filth and overcrowding defied description.

In North Vietnam:

Of 195 hospitals almost all built since the Geneva Agreements in 1954 only five remain, of which only two in the centre of Hanoi are undamaged. The remaining 190, including the world famous Leper Hospital and Research Institute at Quyn Lap, have been bombed to the ground.

Mr. Boguslow Kozuznik, Chairman of the Executive Board of UNICEF and Personal Representative of the Director-General of UNO Funds for Children, left Hanoi on Friday last after two weeks in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. After visiting several towns and regions he said:

'The devastation and destruction of civil objectives by bombardment and especially the ruins of hospitals, schools, churches and pagodas, has shocked me.

'The scope of these bombardments is considerable and I was particularly moved by the destruction of the paediatric hospital built by Czechoslovakia at Haiphong. In my capacity as a doctor, as a man and as a Vice-President of UNICEF, I am obliged to express my indignation and my condemnation of the Americans who have committed this devastation.' (*Le Monde*, July 8, 1969.)

The Secretary-General of the League of Red Cross Societies, who recently returned from an eight-day visit to North Vietnam, writes: 'The North Vietnamese have some health personnel and are training more. What they lack, however, is material. They are doing their best with what they have got, but they need more.'

In the National Liberation Front Areas of South Vietnam:

The Medical Aid Committee has many photographs and films available showing the work of the health services in these areas. It has just received a report of 'The Second National Congress of Civilian Personnel in the Health Services of the NLF' from Madame Ma Thi Chu, a pharmacist and the wife of the NLF Ambassador in Phnom Penh (Cambodia), who is personally known to several members of our Committee.

After describing some of the varied preparations both modern and traditional, she writes:

As to the vaccines prepared by our working methods, the principles followed in their preparation are the same, in essentials, as in any Pasteur Institute:

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vaccine against plague, smallpox, cholera, typhoid, tetanus and tuberculosis. The only difference is that ant-hills serve as ovens, honey successfully replaces glycerine on many occasions, rats replace guinea-pigs in the dosage of anti-toxins, etc.

Even so the Medical Aid Committee received an urgent cable for large quantities of anti-tetanus from Madame Chu, immediately following the 1968 Tet offensive. The request was met with all speed by the Committee, with the assistance of the French Committee and the British Society of Friends, and supplies were despatched by air within a week. In answer to a subsequent query she wrote that it was needed for the flood of refugees who had received no immunisation in areas under Saigon administration.

The Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam, founded in June 1965, under the chairmanship of Mr. John Rankin, MP, and sponsored by over 100 well-known personalities in every field of public life, has just reached its first target of £100,000 for the purchase of medical supplies and surgical equipment. These supplies are sent in response to direct requests from the Liberation Red Cross Society in the National Liberation Front areas of South Vietnam and the Vietnam Red Cross Society of the DRVN (North Vietnam). The Committee receives considerable support from many organisations all over Britain: trade unions, co-operative guilds, Quakers, peace organisations, Oxfam, universities, schools, churches and countless individuals. We have regular contact with 120 organisations and groups working for peace in Vietnam throughout the country.

The need for medical aid grows more, not less, and even when a just peace is at last achieved the tasks of reconstruction and rehabilitation will be enormous. Hundreds of hospitals will have to be rebuilt and the pharmaceutical industry restored (75 per cent destroyed in North Vietnam). Hundreds of thousands of maimed, burned, blinded and limbless children and adults will need extensive and prolonged treatment if they are to be restored to as happy and normal a life as possible.

To work for medical aid is not just a salve for conscience. It is one way of approaching the greatest possible number of people, on humanitarian grounds, and thus arousing their interest in Vietnam. To give aid is to begin to take an interest in the situation in Vietnam and to feel that it is possible to do something to bring an end to the suffering and slaughter. To give aid can also help to lay the foundations of peace and friendship with the Vietnamese people and with people struggling for peace and independence throughout the world.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ART EDUCATION

Andrew Turner
President, Leeds College of Art Students' Union

ART students alongside other sectors of the student body today are totally dissatisfied with the existing curricula inside their colleges. Besides questioning the actual form of art education, the art students also advocate a complete change in content, and if content is the revolutionary force that changes form, the significance of these changes sow the seeds for a new awareness involving all fields in art education.

William Morris, outstanding designer, artist and socialist, outlined his views on the importance of art's place in society:

> Surely anyone who professes to think that the question of art and cultivation must go before that of the knife and fork (and there are some who do propose that) does not understand what art means, or how that its root must have a soil of a thriving and unanxious life (Morris, article in *Justice*, 1896).

He further points out:

> It is the province of art to set the true ideal of a full and reasonable life before him, a life to which the perception and creation of beauty, the enjoyment of real pleasure that is, *shall be felt to be as necessary to man as his daily bread* (my italics).

The unfavourable reaction to these ideas made Morris extremely unpopular with the art hierarchy of Victorian England. The current similar ideas expressed by many art students are up against the same hostility from the same kind of hierarchy that plagued Morris and his followers. The failure to recognise the role of art and artist in society is the root cause of present day unrest inside the art colleges. Art students and artists are the products of an educational system that refuses to recognise the fact that art is social and represents social activity. Small wonder, therefore, that the existing chaotic state in art education forces many students into open revolt against the traditional aesthetic, political and economic ideas of a class—notorious for its distrust of art and famous for its inability to utilise the tremendous creative potential of its painters, sculptors, designers, architects, poets and writers.

The philistines, local education authorities and other art-ignorant minorities who have complete financial and administrative control over the art colleges, resort to traditional tactics to quell these

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

revolts. Committees are set up (Summerson, Coldstream*) and sometimes barbed wire and dogs. The 'solutions' to the crisis are of the mixed bag variety. The art student who is to the forefront at present on the educational barricades is asked to climb down and accept demands, disguised as proposals, to discuss ways and means to increase the status of art education. How liberal it all sounds! (The reader should realise that proposals aiming to make art 'respectable' and the Diploma in Art and Design equivalent to a university type degree means, nine times out of ten, the acceptance of bourgeois culture and ideology—the very thing that art students and staff are questioning and rejecting!)

Capitalism, besides denying the majority of the people equal opportunities in higher education, ensures that the privileged *élite* themselves, are trained to serve and man key state positions and management posts in society. Unable to guarantee a role for the future artist, these educational dreamers nevertheless continue their attempts to bulldoze art students into an identical kind of specialist educational framework with the universities, praying that somewhere along the line the nation overnight will turn into a nation of art lovers. (The establishment is famous for its belief in all kinds of miracles, economic and otherwise.)

Meanwhile the position of fine art students, concerning job prospects continues to deteriorate. After completion of their course the majority eventually end up in a hotch potch of semi or unskilled labour, or else they drift into secondary education, uninterested in teaching and lacking proper qualifications. (The fine art student with a degree equivalent diploma who drives a lorry soon discovers that the diploma does not increase his wage—or improve his conditions.) The Department of Education and Science advocates the closure of smaller art colleges and the grafting of some 'chosen' ones into the polytechnic set up. (The reasons advanced for closing smaller colleges have actually got to be heard to be believed: 'There's too many art students!'—this view was expressed by conservative elements on our Academic Board recently.) These veiled threats allied with education cuts create a very precarious situation.

The very social nature of art itself contradicts in indisputable practice the present art education drummed into the students. Regrettably, most artists find this out long after their college days are over, by bitter frustrating experience in a society that 'knows the price of everything and the value of nothing.' There is indeed, an art in living from one's art.

* See Nick Wright, *LM*, June 1969.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER TO *THE ECONOMIST*

(On June 7, *The Economist* published an article on Soviet agriculture by an unnamed correspondent entitled: 'The private sector and a bit more'. Starting with the familiar assertion of a 'problem' in Soviet agriculture, it sought to prove that collective farming remains a 'fundamental constraint' on the Soviet economy and standard of living. Andrew Rothstein sent the editor a letter, the same day, challenging the main assertions in the article. Unfortunately, no room could be found for his letter—which we print below, since it raises points of general interest. One figure, making the picture more complete, has been inserted in the second paragraph of the letter.)

Sir,

Your correspondent says that Mr. Brezhnev has 'claimed' a continual advance towards solving the Soviet grain problem, and that 'lip service' has been paid for 50 years to radically modernising Soviet agriculture. He overlooks 10 years spent (1918-1927) in resisting invasion by the western democracies and repairing its ravages, and another 12 years in doing the same during and after invasion by Nazi Germany (1941-1952).

But in 1909-1913 average grain output yearly, in the present territory of the USSR, was 72.5 million tons. In 1924-1928, before collective farming, it was 69.3 million tons. In 1936-1940, after collective farming had been consolidated, it reached 77.4 million. The war brought the figure for 1946-1950 down to 64.8 million. But by 1951-1955 it had risen to 88.5 million, in 1956-1960 it was 121.5 million, in 1961-1965 it was 130.3 million, and in the last three years, 1966-1968, it was 162.7 million. Droughty base years don't alter the trend of these figures.

Is that only 'lip service', only an empty 'claim'?

Your correspondent says that the axiom about the collective farms being fundamental (presumably to socialist economy) has lost some validity 'even in Russia', and asserts that the collective farmers' private plots and their private cattle 'are an important component of Soviet intensive farming.' How important? He does not say: and the figures tell a different story.

The collective husbandry of the collective farms, together with the state farms—and it is primarily into these two spheres that increased quantities of machinery and fertilisers, with expenditure on transport facilities and land improvement, go, in order to promote intensive farming—produced, in 1967, 98 per cent of Soviet grain, 100 per cent of Soviet cotton and 100 per cent of Soviet sugar-beet, 98 per cent of Soviet wool, 62 per cent of Soviet meat, 62 per cent of Soviet milk and 59 per cent of Soviet vegetables. Are not these products 'fundamental'?

Where the collective farmers' individual plots score—as they were always meant to—is in supplying their own individual households, with a little of the surplus for individual town families. They produced 73 per cent of Soviet eggs and 73 per cent of Soviet potatoes in 1967 (by the way, the corresponding figures in 1950 were 77 per cent of the one and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

89 per cent of the other—so things have changed even there). Eggs and chips are a very good thing, of course: but they are hardly the 'fundamental' produce of any agriculture.

Your correspondent speaks of the increased welfare provisions for collective farmers, like old-age and disability pensions—but omits to observe that it is out of the *collective* earnings of the collective farm, rapidly rising in recent years as a result of modernisation, that these are in the main financed.

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN

CORRESPONDENCE

'Arturo Ui'

I WAS INTERESTED TO READ the review of the production of the play, *The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui*, at the Saville Theatre, in your last issue. Having recently seen the production, I very much agree with the favourable comments made by the reviewer. However, the production was rather spoilt for me by the ending. Brecht wrote an excellent epilogue which finishes:

Don't yet rejoice in his (Hitler's) *defeat you men.*
For though the world stood up and stopped the bastard,
The bitch that bore him is in heat again.

At the Saville this was followed by the projection of two quotations—one from a Soviet soldier who had said that the Red Army entered Prague last year to help the Czechoslovaks and one from Ky.

This keenness to ignore the dangers of the situation in West Germany is very disturbing. I might mention that *The Times* refused to publish a letter of mine on the subject a few months ago.

I have now taken the trouble to refer to my copy of the programme of the production of 'Ui' given in London in 1965 by the Berliner Ensemble. The text of the projected captions is given, and I find the following alterations in the Saville production.

In the November elections, the Nazis lose heavily, while the workers' parties—the Communists and Social Democrats—make big gains, was shortened in the Saville production by stopping at 'heavily'.

In February 1933, the Reichstag goes up in flames. Hitler accuses the Communists of arson and gives the signal for the 'Night of Long Knives', was censored by omitting the last sentence.

Perhaps this doctoring of the play (and of history!) was undertaken for the sake of preserving the desired effect of the final projection?

But perhaps we should be grateful to be able to learn from an English version of the play at all, because, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there has been no English version of the play published in Britain.

C. WOOD
Bury St. Edmunds

Law on Unions in Australia

I THINK I SHOULD inform you briefly of some developments which have occurred in relation to the penal powers in the (Australian) Commonwealth Arbitration Act since my article was written (*LM*, August 1969). In a series of very wide-spread actions, which involved the workers in every State in Australia except Tasmania, more than one million trade unionists took some form of strike action during the month of May, primarily in protest against the gaoling of a trade union secretary, Clarrie O'Shea, but also as a form of vigorous demand for the repeal of the penal powers. Some idea of the depth of this feeling can

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be gauged by the actions of members of my union.

The membership of the union is made up of a majority of women workers; persons employed in aerated waters factories, hotels, social clubs and restaurants are members of this union. A large body of them are married women and many are part-time workers. Such people are not usually included in the foremost ranks of militant unionists, yet here in New South Wales, and more particularly in the city of Sydney, there was an almost complete stoppage of the members for 24 hours which took place on no more than 24 hours notice—and the notice consisted of little more than press and radio announcements.

Briefly, the events leading up to O'Shea's arrest were that his union had been fined for strikes of its members over two issues, both of which had been finally resolved in favour of the union. The fines were fairly hefty and the union had been paying them off at a set sum per week. Pressure was put on the union by the fine collecting authorities for increased payments. The union refused to make any more payments at all and then went through a protracted process of defiance in which O'Shea refused to answer summonses to appear in court. When finally he did make such an appearance, he refused to give information as to the whereabouts of the union's funds and other assets. For this he was gaoled for contempt. After a period of five days a previously unheard of person came forward as a kind of public benefactor and paid the union's fine in full. A widely held view in the trade union movement here is that this whole matter of the payment was arranged for by persons other than the union concerned or any other union body.

On this day, as I write (July 3), a gathering of job representatives is being held in Sydney to discuss the delay by the Government in dealing with the demands raised during the strikes for complete repeal of the penal powers. Such was the force of the action by the workers that the reactionary, anti-working class Commonwealth Government, under Prime Minister Gorton, was obliged to have discussions at ministerial level with officers of the Australian Council of Trade unions (ACTU) on the demand for the repeal. The ACTU made a decision near the latter end of the May campaign advising unions not to pay outstanding fines. A number of unions had already indicated they would to do just this.

It would be wrong to give an impression of complete unity of trade union officialdom but, despite this, the actions in some of the States during the month of May were under the leadership of what we call State Trades and Labour Councils, and these are branches of the ACTU. It was the weight of the movement by the workers which compelled the release of O'Shea.

As a matter of interest, twenty years ago in April of 1949 I spent thirty days in gaol in New South Wales as a sentence for contempt of the Arbitration Court, which contempt was supposed to be contained in a speech I made to shop stewards, criticising the Court. At that time I was the Assistant National Secretary of the Federated Ironworkers' Association. A few months later in the same year I spent a further six and a half weeks in the same gaol along with seven other union officials, again for contempt of that Court, arising out of our action in withdrawing union funds to assist the then striking coal miners in this country. Such an action on our part was a defiance of special legislation introduced by the then Labour Government, virtually freezing union funds as a means to defeat the coal miners'

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strike. The miners were subsequently driven back to work as a result of the Government's use of troops and the treachery of a section of the trade union and Labour Party leadership. If such a reaction as we recently witnessed had been developed twenty years ago, we would probably not have the penal powers as we know them in this country today. But in any case, the intervening twenty years have not added in any way to respect for the Arbitration Tribunals and those organisations in those Tribunals which impose penalties for strike action.

There are many evidences available of the real purpose of the penal powers and their great value to the employers, perhaps none more revealing than a speech reported in an Australian newspaper, *The Australian Financial Review*, on this very day. The speech was made by a Mr. C. C. Adams in his capacity as President of the Australian Metal Industries Association. He announced a further development in a very complete plan of metal employers against wage increases and declared that they would now oppose a recently instituted annual review of wages in general. The punch line is that he coupled this statement with criticism of the approach by the Arbitration Commission to wage fixation and recommended that the penal provisions of the Arbitration Act 'must be applied with the full vigour of the law, if minority sections are bent on disorder and chaos.' He went on to say: 'The orders and awards of Arbitration Tribunals must be protected and enforced if they are to have any meaning at all. In this situation the unions lose their powers to strike. Unless the legislature keeps firm control over the enforcement provisions [i.e. the penal powers] there could well be a landslide away from law and order.'

I think you may find this information helpful in the further campaign. Incidentally, I had noted the stand by the British unions and their success at least to date in resistance to Wilson, Castle and others.

J. McPHILLIPS

BOOKS

Walter Monckton
Lord Birkenhead
Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 388 pp., 63s.

THIS IS THE BIOGRAPHY of an untypical man, who played may parts in professional life in Britain, India and Africa for over half a century; it is valuable not just as an account of an important individual, but still more for the glimpses it gives of outstanding political events and the working of government machinery.

Monckton was born in the middle levels of 'the establishment', and was always a member of it; but, being honest, generous, unselfish, self-sacrificing and fantastically loyal to friends (who often did not fully merit his great services to them), he was never typical of that powerful force for the maintenance of everything—economic, political, and social—which should have died long ago. I doubt whether he ever consciously decided to support it; he simply took it as an inevitable part of his surroundings, like the weather.

He was naturally fitted to be a first-class barrister, then a first-class judge, and—at any rate at first sight—to be nothing more; but he came at various stages to be not only a first-class barrister but also a wonderful adviser to two monarchs in two continents, a first-class war-time civil servant, a first-class Minister of Labour in a Tory government, and finally chairman of both the Midland Bank and the Iraq

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Petroleum Company. Nor did he achieve his many posts by good fortune, influence, or pushing; much of what he did was done from a sense of duty, with little direct advantage to himself.

He was not a genuine Tory; if I had to classify him, I would call him a liberal Liberal. As his biographer rightly points out, he never really 'fitted in' to party politics, for essentially the reason that he possessed the virtues I have recounted above. Conspicuous honesty, in particular, is a grave handicap in a minister. When I first went into the house of Commons in 1935, there was an unwritten and not publicly acknowledged convention that every Tory government should contain one honest man; (it formed a pretty contrast to another—this time ackowledged—convention that the two generally 'safe' and undistinguished men who then represented—indeed grossly over-represented—the City of London should sit with the ministers on the front bench of the House of Commons on the first day of every session, an odd acknowledgement of reality in that fantastically hypocritical assembly). I was by no means the only person who chuckled when the seat vacated by the death of Oliver Stanley, whose honesty had been such a nuisance that he had to be moved quite often from one ministry to another, was allotted to Monckton!

Whether Monckton was quite a first-class barrister has long been a matter of controversy in his profession; he always asserted to me that he was not, and I always told him that he was. His biographer, who rightly values all his other activities, accepts the view that he fell just short, not being tough enough for difficult cases, and being prone to give up too readily. This view is supported by not a few witnesses, including eminent solicitors, (but to my mind even the best-informed solicitors always either under-estimate or over-estimate barristers). I hold that the lack of toughness was only apparent, being no more than a facet of his charm, and that when it was necessary to be tough he was as tough as anyone. As for his being too ready to give up, the truth, I think, is that he knew better than most of us when the point had been reached after which it was useless and thus probably dangerous to continue pressing an argument. To have that knowledge is a great asset; to act on it by stopping is an act not of weakness but of courage, for it too often angers solicitors and lay clients, who complain that their counsel threw away their case by not doing what they thought best, whereas their counsel knew and they did not that to have done what they wanted would have been fatal! That Monckton was not a first-class lawyer in the narrow sense of knowing the law profoundly was probably true, but the percentage of first-class barristers who are lawyers in this sense is very small.

The charm on which the biographer rightly lays weight certainly enabled Monckton to achieve much for his clients and his friends, and even for himself. It was remarkable, but never cloying; there must be very few men of whom it could be written without any deprecation that he made no enemies! Those who knew the late Harry Pollitt will appreciate the story that when Monckton, as civil service head of the Ministery of Information, asked Pollitt to have a long talk with him, and began by offering a cup of tea, that tough working-class fighter said: 'No, thanks!'; twenty minutes later, after the charm had worked, Pollitt volunteered: 'I'll take that cup of tea now.'

When I seek to assess the work of the biographer, I am moved to admiration, with a few reservations. The task of handling the great mass of material must have involved great labour, but

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the book is very seldom laborious, and the delicacy and firmness of the treatment of both Monckton's experiences with women and the episode of the abdication of Edward VIII are beyond praise.

I feel that, in some respects, the actual selection of cases from the great range of Monckton's work should surely have produced much more interesting examples. (Personally, I would have liked to read an account of the prosecution of London 'squatters' at the Old Bailey, where Monckton out of sheer generosity left his lucrative civil practice to appear for the defence, conducted it with his usual conciliatory charm, and then refused to accept a fee.)

In one other respect the book, at any rate for progressive readers, falls short of excellence; in passages where a background has to be given with which Monckton himself had no direct connection—e.g., in relation to the Indian States, the USSR (called Russia), Suez, and to some extent the Rhodesian Federation—the background is to my mind described with a cold and narrow Toryism which makes the book lifeless until Monckton himself comes into the narrative again and revives it. There is one moment at which it is worse than lifeless, when one is told that the object of communists—the people who did more than anyone else at many stages of the war to keep the workers from striking in the face of innumerable provocations from employers and the government—'was to inflict as much damage as possible on the country.'

But, on balance, this is a good book. It is well got up, and there are very few errors. D. N. PRITT

The Soviet Economy
Alec Nove
Allen & Unwin, 370 pp., 28s.

THIS IS THE THIRD EDITION, enlarged and brought up to date, of an explanatory work first published some eight years ago, before the new economic reforms of the mid-1960s had yet come on to the agenda of discussion, although plenty of criticism of the old centralised system already had done. Professor Nove was among the first in this country to draw attention to the role of the various 'success indicators' used in the course of implementing Soviet plans and to their distorting effect on output-pattern and on productive methods. The work as a whole is a critical but not unsympathetic, discerning and unusually knowledgeable survey of the general problems and changing scene of Soviet economy. Whether one agrees or disagrees with particular judgments and criticisms, one will find it quite a mine of information, if only for its references to opinions of Soviet writers who have joined in the economic controversies of the past ten to twelve years. This new edition is some 50 pages longer than the original, and ends with a seven-page 'short-bibliography' of books and articles in English and American.

M.D.

A Short Course of Political Economy
L. Leontyev
Progress Publishers, (Central Books), 414 pp., 15s.

THIS IS AN INVALUABLE BOOK for the student of political economy. It provides a Marxist analysis of capitalist production and distribution as well as the basic features of imperialism and pre-capitalist modes of production. The second part of the book deals with the transition from capitalism to socialism and the socialist economic system. Revision questions are set at the end of each chapter.

R.L.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Renascent Africa
Nnamdi Azikiwe
Frank Cass, 314 pp., 65s.

MOST BOOKS written 32 years ago have little relevance to modern Africa. In many respects this is also true of this one. But bearing in mind that African national movements were in their infancy in 1937, and in some parts of the continent had not even been born, there is still a great deal in this book (reprinted as in the original) which makes sense for the struggle in Africa today.

True, one looks in vain for a political analysis of the colonial world of the time, or any examination of the nature of the imperialist system. Its main feature is its emotional and moral exhortation to the African peoples: 'There is a destiny sublime for Africa and the Renascent Africans. And neither the forces of time nor the forces of space can obliterate this destiny. Sons and daughters of Africa, to you is given the power to shape your destiny. Sons and daughters of Africa, to you is given the chisel to fashion your destiny from the marble of human life.'

This is the main theme which recurs over and over again in the most colourful language. Azikiwe is an African leader who has striven for over 30 years to change the old Africa, more particularly in Nigeria, of which he was the President before the armed coup of January 1966.

In face of the present disastrous military conflict between federal Nigeria and Biafra it would be easy to dismiss his contribution to the building of a new Nigeria. Azikiwe did not foresee this situation, and in fact failed on several decisive occasions to make a firm stand against those forces which acted as a barrier in the path of the struggle to transform Nigeria.

However, no history of Nigeria would be complete without placing on record the many positive aspects of Azikiwe's stimulation of the spirit of African freedom. IDRIS COX

The Sociology of British Communism
Kenneth Newton
Allen Lane, 214 pp., 50s.

WHEN SOCIOLOGY without Marxism attempts to analyse communists in Britain, rather like a biologist examining frogs under a microscope, it is inevitable that, however well-intentioned and conscientious the researcher, the result may appear a trifle odd. The reader must be prepared for the special technical language favoured by academic sociology. Thus 'the concern is with identifying a particular combination of causal variables and cultural-structural determinants which produce the specific outcome of Communism' (p. 121). But beneath the forbidding exterior a warm heart beats. With very careful documentation and analysis of examples the writer refutes all the customary psychological explanations and other loose generalisations of most sociologists about British communists. He concludes that 'they are not psychologically imbalanced revolutionary fanatics, riddled with hatred and intolerance. They are certainly deeply committed to a cause and an ideology, but they tend to be pragmatic, tentative, idealistic, humanitarian, and sometimes surprisingly cautious in their opinions.' The limitations of a survey of this type spring partly from the inevitable difficulty of conducting it from the outside (the twenty-seven individuals interviewed are, as he recognises, not a representative sample, being entirely from southern England, and including only two industrial workers), but mainly from lack of familiarity with the background of Marxist theory and the historical development of the British working class movement. A. S. PECIMEN

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'HAVES' AND 'HAVE-NOTS'

I WONDER how many of our readers have copies of *LM* hidden away in cupboards and getting dusty in the attic. You can help us to make up complete annual sets for binding by sending some of them to us. The ones we need are: February, May and September 1962, October 1964, and December 1966. The sale of bound volumes, if we can make up complete sets for those three years in addition to the ones already in good supply, is as real a financial lift as a contribution to our fund.

We are happy to have received a note from Kwame Nkrumah, who writes to congratulate *LM* on the leading article 'International Unity and Unity in Britain' in the June issue. He goes on to say: 'World socialism shall triumph; until then the conflict in society is between the "haves" and "have-nots"—between world capitalism and world socialism.'

Other good friends write to say: 'Please accept the enclosed for the Development Fund; the *Labour Monthly* is greatly appreciated in this area and we do not know what we should do without it. RPD's review of the book on imperialism is especially welcome.'

I should like to record my thanks for a most enjoyable evening in Manchester with members of the AEF District Committee. To add to the pleasure, nine of them became new regular readers of *LM* and all were concerned with the need to bring the journal to other new readers by making realistic plans to help increase the number of subscribers.

NICOLA SEYD

£53 3s. 0d.

REGULAR DONATIONS came from: Marie Philibert, 5s; H. Brindle, 5s; M. Morgan, 5s; Cambridge Union C.P., 10s; 'S. Mill', £1; Ben Ainley, 10s; K. Rintoul, 10s; W. E. Rounce, 5s; J. Rink, 5s; L. Bates (+ Holiday Donation), 10s; Blackburn Branch, 3s; Oldham Branch, 2s; T. Crichton, £3; A. Corbett, £1; L'Humanité, 5s; R.F.B., £6; Len and Stella Perkins, 5s; S. Morrissy, 10s; G.I., 1s 6d; 'Pax', 5s; E. Sheldon, £1; Kitty Kokos and friends, 7s 6d; R. Paul, 10s; L. Hadfield, 5s; D. Belenson, £1; Southend Branch, £1; M. Bell, £1; B.R. (USA), £2 8s 11d; J.D. (Canada), 15s 4d; E.J.B., 10s; 'Socialist Sailor', £2; J. A. Purton, 7s 6d; 'Oliver Twist', 10s; A.M.T. (for Fernando and Guilherme), 1s.

OTHER DONATIONS include: J. McLanachan, £2; J. Mullen, 10s; R. Grindley, £1; M. Hurwitt, £3; T. Powell, 2s; W. Deans, £2; L. Naftalin, £2; G. Cunelli, £1; H. Ludford, £1; A. Hanrahan, £2 16s 8d; L. and M. Perl, 10s; J. M. Higginton, £1 5s; R. C. Scott, 10s; J. W. R. Clark, £3; A. F. Johnson, 10s; A.A.M., 10s; J. Johnson, £1; Anon, 1s; Mrs. A. B. (Canada), £2 16s 7d.

Our thanks to you all,
Co-op No. L99482

134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3.
01-346 5135

Bankers' orders to:
Co-op Bank Ltd., 110 Leman Street, London, E.1. A/c No. 20 MU 1.

Published by Unity Publications (Finchley), Ltd., and printed by London Caledonian Press Ltd. (T.U.), Watford, Herts.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POST FREE SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Home and Overseas	1 year	£2 0 0
(Unsealed envelope)	6 months	£1 0 0
USA	1 year	$6.00
	(sealed	$9.00)
	6 months	$3.00
Canada	1 year	$6.50
	(sealed	$7.50)
	6 months	$3.25

Air Mail rates quoted on application

Please start my subscription from the

..... issue

Name.....

Address .....

Special Students' Concession

1 year	£1 15 0
6 months	17 6

I am a bona fide student at

.....

Please start my subscription from the

..... issue

Name.....

Address .....

.....

.....

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Origins and Legacies of World War 1, D. F. Fleming. Allen & Unwin, 352 pp., 50s.

End of an Illusion, James Avery Joyce. Allen & Unwin, 274 pp., 50s.

Life in Russia Today, Jack Miller. Batsford, 198 pp., 30s.

The Process of Work Establishment, Marcia Freedman. Columbia University Press, 136 pp., 62s.

The Railway Accident and Other Stories, Edward Upward. Heinemann, 222 pp., 35s.

The Rotten Elements, Edward Upward. Heinemann, 216 pp., 30s.

Europe After de Gaulle, John Pinder and Roy Price. Penguin Books, 192 pp., 6s.

Civilian Resistance as a National Defence, edited by Adam Roberts. Penguin Books, 366 pp., 8s.

East Africa, A. J. Hughes. Penguin Books, 270 pp., 8s.

Co-ownership, Co-operation and Control, P. Derrick and J. F. Phipps. Longmans, 184 pp., 50s.

The Victims of Whiggery, George Loveless. Communist Party, 32 pp., 7s. 6d.

Peterloo. Communist Party, 8 pp., 1s.

Peterloo: The Case Re-opened, Robert Walmsley. Manchester University Press, 586 pp., 90s.

The Plain Truth. The Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland, 36 pp., copies available on request.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PAMPHLETS

Still a few copies available of:

U.S. CHEMICAL WARFARE
by Prof. E. H. S. Burhop 6d

INDIA IN TRAVAIL
by R. Palme Dutt 1s 0d

WHITHER CHINA ?
by R. Palme Dutt 2s 6d

Order from:

134 Ballards Lane, London N.3

MIMETTE FURS LTD.

Wide range of furs, coats, stoles and capes.

117 High Street, Croydon, Surrey
'Phone CROydon 4328

For all interested in the fight for Peace and Progress in the Countryside and the problems of Socialist Agriculture.

THE COUNTRY STANDARD

Quarterly 6d. By post 9d.

Annual Subscription 3/- post free or send 3d. stamp for specimen copy.

THE COUNTRY STANDARD
27 Bedford St., Strand, London, W.C.2

YOU CAN STILL GET

Labour Monthly Bound Volume for 1968

Price £1 15s. 0d., post free, or send 15s. 6d. and your loose copies to:

LABOUR MONTHLY
134 BALLARDS LANE
LONDON, N.3

LABOUR RESEARCH

THE BREWERS
SICK BENEFIT
BUSY MAUDLING

1s. 6d., or 1s. 10d. by post

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
78 Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

(4s. a line, minimum 12s. Cash with order to: 'Class. Ads.', Labour Monthly, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3.)

SOCIALIST LIBRARIES & pamphlets bought. 01-876 7254. Hammersmith Books, Liffords Pl., S.W.13.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED